835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused, these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

[1] [i.e. incest. - Aug/74]

587 835 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were [837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary" [684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely [592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were 252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time 592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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● 587

1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162]/163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

[584] Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire contact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly [587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[177] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friederic includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a